



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

THE CENTRAL AMERICAN REPUBLICS AND THEIR PROBLEMS

By Webster E. Browning, Ph.D., Educational Secretary, Committee on Coöperation in Latin America; formerly President of the American College in Chile

It is a peculiar and interesting fact that those twenty states which lie to the south of us and form the geographical division generally known as Latin America, are less known to the average citizens of the United States than are other lands that lie much more distant, even on the other side of the earth. It would be safe to say that through the crucible of the World War the resurrected nationalities, such as Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, the Ukraine and Esthonia, in Europe, or Kurdistan, Armenia, and Azerbaijan, in Asia, have a more distinct personality in our minds than have Nicaragua, Honduras or Venezuela, our near neighbors to the south and members of the family of American nations for a hundred years. The Asian Mesopotamia is probably a clearer concept in the average American mind than is the South American Mesopotamia formed by the republic of Paraguay and the Argentine provinces of Entre Rios and Corrientes, although their population is about the same and the area of the latter is almost double the former. One of the reasons for this lack of exact knowledge in regard to the countries of Latin America is found in the fact that it lies far off to one side from the usual line of travel. Our American tourists visit those portions of the world which lie east or west, but few of them seldom turn to the South to the lands that lie under the gleam of the southern cross.

Another explanation is the fact that we have had but comparatively few diplomatic questions of any great importance with the countries that lie to the south. They themselves have had local questions which sometimes involved the United States, but, on the whole, we have been

able to keep apart from any responsibility in the solution of their problems. And it must also be confessed and somewhat shamefacedly, that when we have been compelled to participate in Latin American diplomacy our diplomats and statesmen have not always taken the trouble to study local conditions, to ascertain all the facts in the case, and thus render a decision which left us higher in the estimation of the peoples with whom we were dealing.

It is even more strange that the Latin nations which lie nearest to us, contrary to the usual rule, are those which are less known and on which our own supposedly superior civilization has had a less evident effect. The Central American republics are less often in our thoughts and in our estimates than are Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Brazil, which lie to the far south in the temperate zone and pour their bounteous products into our markets and receive in turn our exports in an ever-increasing ratio. In other words our interest in Latin America has been largely commercial and utilitarian, largely limited to those regions which have promised the highest and quickest returns on a financial investment.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

This paper is to deal with "The Central American Republics and their Problems," but, in view of the somewhat vague understanding of the region to be described, which prevails in most quarters, it may be well to set up at the beginning a geographical and historical perspective in order that our study may be the more clearly understood.

To locate the six republics of Central America on the map, they border on the Pacific Ocean on the west and south, and their shores are washed by the waters of the Caribbean Sea on the east, while, through the territory of one of them, runs that marvel of engineering skill, the Panama Canal, which Viscount Bryce has so aptly termed "the greatest liberty ever taken with nature." To the northwest lies the territory of Mexico, our own troubled and too little appreciated neighbor, and in the south Panama

clings, as if in filial love, to the skirts of its mother, the justly discontented republic of Colombia. Lying entirely within the tropics, between the parallels seven and eighteen north latitude, their longitude would fall, roughly speaking, between that of Des Moines or Little Rock, on the west, and Washington on the east. Thus their general trend is from northwest to southeast, producing the easting of the southern half of the American continent which throws its east shores nearer to Europe and brings the west directly south of the great ports on our east coast.

HISTORICAL SETTING

As to their historical setting, the five original republics—Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Salvador and Costa Rica—under Spanish rule, which ended in 1821, formed the Kingdom of Guatemala. This kingdom was ruled by a captain-general who was directly responsible to the throne, but who did not assume the title of viceroy, as did the rulers of Peru, farther south. Due principally to the efforts of Francisco Morazán, of Honduras, a leader of the Liberals, independence from Spain was secured in 1821 and a federal republic was established which lasted until 1842. At that time, because of mutual jealousies, this federation broke up into its component parts and each state, at least in name and theory, became an independent republic. In but few cases, however, and for no great length of time, has republicanism existed in more than name and the President has too often relied on the army to place and maintain him in power, rather than on the votes of his fellow citizens. International jealousies have persisted and because of this and other handicaps, no one of the five republics has kept proper pace with the progress of the Anglo-Saxon nations to the north or with the Latin states in the far south of the continent.

ATTEMPTS AT UNION

Repeated efforts have been made to reunite these weak and often warring political units into one strong state; but many of the people seem to partake of the turbulent char-

acter of their volcanic territory, and all such well-intentioned efforts have failed. A Central American "Hague Tribunal" was set up a few years ago, all the republics except Costa Rica signed the *modus vivendi* then drawn up, and occasional meetings have been held for the purpose of adjusting differences; yet but little has been gained in the way of a permanent cementing of international friendships. On the contrary, Central America has been notorious among the nations of the world because of its constant revolutionary outbreaks and the amazing facility with which some of its peoples have repudiated or failed to cancel foreign debts. The soil has been drenched with the blood of the inhabitants, and never have so-called Christian nations so given themselves up to mutual slaughter and despoilment. Civil wars have frequently reduced the male population to almost the vanishing point, and the territory has been impoverished and laid waste with a ferocity which has been seldom equalled in history.

During the rule of Spain the governors were but official exploiters and assassins on a large scale. Under the republican form of government, these exploiters have too often given way to dictators, or presidents in name, whose mutual jealousies have often plunged their peoples into war and caused the wholesale slaughter of many thousands of citizens whose energies should have been used in the establishing of stable economic conditions. Progress has been impossible and the prosperity of these peoples is constantly hampered by enormous debts, when they have not been cancelled by the simple process of repudiation.

A REGION OF VOLCANIC DISTURBANCES

The unusual frequency of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions has also been a hindrance to the prosperity and economic stability of Central America. This section seems to form a species of joint in the crust of the earth, a weak point especially susceptible to disturbances from within, and its volcanoes are among the most destructive on earth. Six of these are located in Guatemala, two in Salvador, four in Nicaragua, and four in Costa Rica.

The havoc wrought by the play of these terrific forces had full illustration in the destruction of the second city of Guatemala, now known as Antigua, in 1773, by a combination of seismic and volcanic movements; in the eruption of Santa Maria, in the same republic in 1912, which covered many square leagues with lava and ashes and blotted out thousands of lives; and, more recently, in the destruction of the present capital of Guatemala in December, 1917.

PANAMÁ AND THE UNITED STATES

Panamá, not yet named in the above lines, is the sixth member of the Central American group and the one which has most recently become an independent nationality. In 1903, Panamá, then a province or state in the republic of Colombia, seceded from that country, and under the aegis of the United States of America, quickly constituted itself as a republic. Its existence has been very closely allied with the interests of the United States and it is probable that its independence could not have been achieved without the not altogether disinterested advice and help of its powerful friend to the north, and the echoes of "I took Panamá" have been a very real detriment to the Progress of Pan-Americanism, or the cultivation of intimate friendly relations between the United States of America and the remaining nations of the continent.

The area of the Panamanian republic is about equal to that of the the state of Maine, or a little less than that of Ireland, and a strip of land 10 miles in width and running from ocean to ocean has been ceded to the United States for the uses of the Canal. As a matter of interest, the cities of Colon and Panamá, which lie outside the Zone, are generally policed by the United States and this latest-born of American republics does little that is not approved by Washington.

COMPARATIVE AREA AND POPULATION

The following table will show the comparative area and population of the six republics of Central America, although statisticians differ in their figures and unsettled boundary disputes often make an exact statement impossible:

	<i>Square miles</i>	<i>Population</i>
Nicaragua.....	49,200	600,000
Guatemala.....	48,300	2,000,000
Honduras.....	46,250	555,000
Panama.....	31,520	350,000
Costa Rica.....	18,400	420,000
Salvador.....	7,225	1,200,000
Total.....	200,895	5,125,000

As regards the composition of the population of Central America, the native Indian races are largely represented. Sixty per cent of the population of Guatemala, for example, is estimated as pure Indians, divided into thirty-six tribes, each with its own language, or dialect, customs, dress and religious beliefs. Of pure foreigners there are only some 15,000. The other republics have a smaller percentage of pure Indians, but in all of them these "native sons" form the background of the population and constitute a serious problem.

COMPOSITE CHARACTER OF THE POPULATION

The unusually composite character of the population may be judged from the following table of crosses which, although prepared for the republic of Salvador, will apply with certain restrictions, to the entire six republics. It forms an interesting study in ethnology and will alone explain many facts in the history and character of the peoples of Central America. It is as follows:

<i>Crosses</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>
Ladino (mestizo).....	Spaniard	Indian
Castiso.....	Spaniard	Ladina
Españolo.....	Castiso	Spanish
Mulato.....	Negro	Spanish
Morisco.....	Spaniard	Mulata
Albino.....	Morisco	Spanish
Tornatos.....	Albino	Spanish
Lobo (wolf).....	Negro	Indian
Caribujo.....	Lobo	Indian
Grifo.....	Lobo	Negress
Barsino.....	Coyote (Indian)	Mulata
Albarazado.....	Coyote	Indian
Chaniso.....	Coyote	Ladina
Mechino.....	Coyote	Loba

In addition to these native crosses, every nation of the world has contributed to the formation of the modern peoples of Central America. Buccaneers, sea-rovers, tourists, exiles from all lands—Teutons, Anglo-Saxons, Scandinavians, Greeks, Latins, Turks, Dutch, Asiatics, the sable African—many of them honest tradesmen who have made permanent homes in these lands, have generously mingled their blood with that of the natives. It is probable that few, if any, other centers of population offer to the world such an amazing mixture of the races as do the six republics of Central America.

ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLES

Although no conclusive proof may be adduced, there is good reason to believe that the Indians of Central America had an Asiatic origin, and the general trend of the tribes seems to have been northward. Copan, in Honduras, supposedly marks the oldest civilization in this part of the world, of which there is a record, and this was followed by the Mayan civilization whose ruins exist near the little village of Quiriguá, in Guatemala, and these in turn were followed by the tribes that invaded what is now Mexico and left as monuments their magnificent temples and cities in Yucatan, Chiapas and Oaxaca. These monuments preceded the formation of the Aztec empire and are even pre-Toltec in their origin, antedating the pyramids of Egypt, in the estimate of some archeologists, by thousands of years. The glyphs of Quiriguá are as yet undeciphered, although the great stone calendar has been squared with the Gregorian, and the origin of these people will probably never be known. The fabled Atlantis which afforded a passage across what is now a wide waste of waters, where there are but a few scattered islands—the tops of what must have been the high mountains of this now submerged continent—may be more than a mere hypothesis, and its counterpart in the Pacific may give the real explanation of the origin of all these Indian hordes that in some dim age of the past, swept up from the south and west and left

in the various stages of their journey the monoliths and temples which are today the mute evidences of their engineering skill and of their social organization. All through South America, among the native tribes there persists a tradition of some great Antarctic movement in which the tribes gradually trekked northward, and the pre-Incan ruins of Tiahuanacu, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, and those of Machu-Pichu, in the interior of Perú, may be accredited to these succeeding waves of immigration, the outward edges of which reached over into what are now Colombia and Venezuela and thus extended on to the north and west in the order we have seen.

The existence of an advanced civilization in the regions noted, all of which is or has been tropical, and the absence of proofs of an equal development to the north or south, would seem to indicate that the "curse of the tropics" was not so potent in bygone ages as it is supposed to be today. No Indian nation has left such monuments in colder regions, and those who lived on the fringes of this advanced civilization seem to have been, at least in a measure, subservient or inferior tribes who have left no record of their impact on world life.

Today the descendants of these same Indians constitute one of the most serious problems of the Central American statesman who goes below the surface and faces the future of his race. This native population is the great, seemingly inexhaustible, reservoir on which continuous drafts are being drawn to replenish and strengthen the mixed or creole population. It is the healthy, vigorous strain of the tribes of the hinterland that must strengthen the worn-out and often diseased blood of the dweller in the city, and thicken that of the coast dweller which has been thinned by tropical heat and debilitated by constant sieges of paludic and other even more destructive fevers. Unless the sources are kept pure and clean the whole stream will necessarily become polluted and the doom of the Central American races will be sealed.

CLIMATE

Central America, like Mexico, has for the most part, the advantages that arise from a climate that, in a given region, is practically stable. Along the coast, on either side, runs the *tierra caliente* where every known tropical fruit may be produced. The land is fertile and requires but little cultivation. Banana plantations have reached a high degree of development, under the fostering care of the United Fruit Company and similar corporations, along the coast, and the coffee berry which grows on the slopes of the interior plateaus, is rarely excelled in quality and flavor. Cane plantations and cattle ranches stud the coast line and the latter extend up into the higher regions of the interior, while fine woods, among them mahogany and rosewood, abound in the forests and form an as yet almost virgin treasure of these lands.

The bulk of the European population has naturally sought the high cool plateaus of the interior, in the *tierra templada*, and the city of Panamá is the only Central American capital situated on the coast. Guatemala City is almost 5000 feet above the sea, thus resembling Bogotá and the City of Mexico in climate and general conditions of life, though both these capitals are higher. The different countries are divided into what might be called cantons by mountain ranges and pestiferous swamps, and this has no doubt influenced the ethnological development of the native populations, dividing them into small tribes, each with its own dialect or language, customs and religion.

SOCIAL CASTES AND CONDITIONS

The population of Central America naturally divides itself, as in all Latin American countries, into three great social castes or classes. First of all there is the Indian of the hinterland, to whom reference has already been made. Slightly above him in social standing is the *ladino*, or creole, of mixed blood, who occupies an intermediary position between the pure white or European population and the mass of Indian laborers who are the hewers of wood and the

drawers of water. Though for the most part artisans, and generally of a humble social category, some have reached positions of influence, have become prominent in political life, or even occupied the seat of the President and made their voices heard in the legislative halls. The pure white population is often a negligible quantity numerically and tends to disappear through absorption by the lower classes. The women of this class, in particular, are the stay of the Church, while the men, openly non-religious, if not even anti-church in their sentiment, generally turn to political interests or give themselves to literary pursuits which are seldom remunerative but are supposed to insure high standing in the community. In Central America to a degree unknown in some of the states further south, the fact of humble origin is not necessarily a bar to political preference, nor to admission to the exclusive social circles of the high-born. This social chasm which yawns between the classes is more often crossed on a bridge of gold, yet talent and industry are coming to be recognized for their own worth and national life thereby deepened and strengthened.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Aside from what has been done by foreign capital, it may be said that but little economic progress has been made in Latin America. Panamá in particular depends on the United States not only for its political independence but also for its economic life. The tremendous business carried on by the administration of the Canal Zone in the immediate vicinity of the two principal cities of the republic, with its thousands of employees, insures a constant and altogether lucrative return on funds invested by the commercial community; but the natural resources of the country have been but very slightly exploited, and in the few cases that form an exception, by foreigners. In the other republics the landed proprietors belong, generally, to the old aristocracy, many of whose families received their grant of land from the crown itself, and have held it through successive changes of government, since its possession consti-

tutes not only potential wealth but also social standing and prerogatives. But the development of these fields depends very largely on foreign capital, particularly the construction of railways to the coast and the transportation by sea to foreign markets. The Central American governments have given but little attention to the increase in the ways of communication except in the granting of concessions to foreign capitalists. Yet few centers in the world have greater natural resources and the time cannot be far distant when these republics under stable governments will come into their own.

With the passing of dictators, who are an anachronism in modern life, and the exercise of the unobstructed right of suffrage by the peoples, Central America cannot fail to take a position of large economic importance among the nations.

In spite of the physical handicaps of a tropical climate; a heterogeneous and often nondescript population, in which the very dregs of humanity seem to have left an indelible mark, especially in the coast regions; the earthquakes which frequently wreck the cities, and the volcanoes which hurl cinders and lava over the surrounding country—often covering it to a depth of many feet and blotting out thousands of lives and destroying valuable property—the people of Central America have most attractive qualities, in common with the other Latin American nations, have shown a high standard of intellectual and executive ability, and, under good governments, ought to forge rapidly ahead and fulfill their real destiny. The United States through the investment of capital, especially in the opening up of interstate and international communication both by land and by sea could do real service to Central America and at the same time reap enormous returns on the investment.

An interesting illustration of the difficulties inherent in communication with the various Central American states, is found in the route usually preferred by those who would go from Guatemala, the northernmost republic, to Panamá at the extreme south of the Isthmus. Instead of simply going down to the Pacific port of San Jose and thence shipping direct to Balboa, the quickest as well as the most

comfortable route is that which leads down to Puerto Barrios on the Atlantic coast. There the traveler takes the United Fruit Company's boat to New Orleans and then transships to a steamer of the same line for Cristobal. Or, to give another illustration; if a letter is mailed in Denver or even San Francisco, addressed to a resident of Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, it is not sent directly down the west coast, but, instead, by rail to New Orleans, thence by boat to Panamá and, finally, up the west coast to Corinto, the port of the capital. In the usual course of events a letter could be sent from San Francisco to Hong Kong or Tokyo, or from New York to Cairo or Constantinople, in less time, and with considerably more certainty of its safe delivery, than to Managua or to Tegucigalpa.

The prompt completion of the Panamá railway from the frontiers of Mexico to Panamá, with the corresponding national lines running down to the ports in the various countries, would be one of the most helpful contributions to the solution of the economic and social problems of Central America. Intercommunications would thus be made easy, the rich and abundant products of the various countries would quickly and economically find an outlet to the sea, and, what is of even greater importance, especially in view of the proposed Federal union, the people of the different nationalities would come to know each other better, jealousy and intrigue would tend to disappear and the dream of Central American statesmen of a single strong political entity lying between Mexico and South America would be much nearer its realization.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Statistics in the Department of Public Instruction are on the whole incomplete and unsatisfactory, yet show, even in the best of cases, the need of prodigious endeavor on the part of the Central American peoples if they are to put this exceedingly important function of the governments on a proper basis.

Nicaragua, for example, where instruction is almost entirely in the hands of the church, and a country which has never erected a building for school purposes in all its history, is cited as having a total of 366 public and private schools, including all those of primary and secondary grade. The state offers no secondary instruction, but has three universities and a number of normal schools. The annual budget is \$310,000. Counting the population at one-half million, this means an annual per capita tax of about sixty cents for all departments of instruction, or a total about equal to the budget of one of our smaller colleges—such as Berea, in Kentucky—or one-tenth the annual income of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.¹ And this for an entire nation!

Costa Rica reports 419 elementary and 2 high schools, with a total attendance of 32,576 pupils. There is also a normal school and a university with four faculties.

Honduras has 584 primary public schools, a national institute, a University with four faculties, and the educational budget in 1918 amounted to \$385,000.

Salvador in 1916 reported 989 primary schools with 1476 teachers and 57,555 enrolled pupils; 27 higher schools, including 3 technical and 3 normal schools, with a total of 2345 pupils, and a national university with five faculties.

Panamá in 1917 maintained 398 public schools, throughout the 8 provinces, with a total attendance of 22,000 pupils under 315 teachers.²

The average illiteracy for all Central America, although exact statistics are silent on this point, cannot be less than 75 per cent of the entire population, as compared with 7.7 in the United States, and the combined educational budget for all Central America, with its population of over 5,000,000, cannot exceed one half that of Harvard or Yale University for a single year.

The statistics for Guatemala are more complete and for the school year of 1918 are as follows. There are reported

¹ Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1917, p. 47.

² (The above statistics are taken from *The Statesman's Year Book*, for 1919.)

1642 primary schools, with a total matriculation of 41,162 pupils; two normal schools, one for each of the sexes, with 226 students enrolled; schools of commerce and of a similar character, 212; and in the university, 57 students in pharmacy and natural sciences; 158 in medicine and surgery; and 110 in the faculty of law and political and social sciences. At the close of the year 11 were graduated in law, 12 in medicine and surgery, 3 as dentists, 3 as midwives, 3 as nurses, and 4 as pharmacists. Counting the population at 2,000,000 the above figures would give roughly speaking, one primary school for every 1200 persons, and one pupil for every 50 inhabitants. In the secondary or high school there is but one pupil for every 8500 inhabitants, and but one university graduate for every 87,000 inhabitants. Moreover in the estimation of eminent Guatemalans who were not in sympathy with the government of the now overthrown dictator, Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera, there is much that might be said as to optimism of the above statistics, as also of the equipment and methods of teaching. The "college" as understood in the United States, is unknown in Central America, as in all Latin America, and the university receives its students direct from the secondary schools, supplying in its lengthened program the courses they could not receive before entering. The "university," too, it must be remembered, is a different concept in the mind of the Latin American and generally centers around some one building in the heart of the city, *sans* campus, *sans* student life and activities, and *sans* most of the other component parts of our somewhat complex university organization.

RECENT POPULAR UPRISINGS

While Central America has always been a prolific center of political uprisings, these movements have, in the main, been military and fomented by pretenders to executive authority who, in some way or another, had been able to secure a following and overturn the one in power. An indication of a salutary change in methods of administration is the evidently increasing power of the people and their

influence on the choice of the nation's executive. This may be evidenced by recent developments in Costa Rica, and more particularly by the recent overthrow of Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera, in Guatemala, after 22 years of autocratic rule of that country. This occurred during the writer's visit to that country and evidently was the result of a great popular uprising rather than of the machinations of another aspirant to power. The streets of the capital, for many days before the declaration by the Assembly, that resulted in the resignation of Estrada Cabrera, were filled with throngs of determined citizens, who, in an orderly but energetic manner, manifested their hatred of the old order of government and their desire for a more democratic régime. Unbiased observers declared that at least 90 per cent of the thinking people of Guatemala were behind the movement that finally resulted in the overthrow of the so-called constitutional president, but who was in practice a Dictator, and the appointment of his successor.

The steps by which this was brought about were interesting and deserve perpetuation in the records of history, as showing a distinct advance in revolutionary methods. Urged on by the people, through its representatives, the Assembly, on April 8, made public the following decree:

LEGISLATIVE POWER

DECREE NUMBER 1022

The National Legislative Assembly of the Republic of Guatemala,

WHEREAS: The documents which in our possession duly establish the mental alteration of Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera, President of the Republic, by which he is rendered incompetent to continue as the Executive, and in order that he may attend to the re-establishment of his health, in conformity with Article 52, paragraphs VII and VIII, and 68 of the Constitutional Law,

THEREFORE:

IT IS DECREED:

Article I. Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera is separated from his position as President of the Republic and is given permission to absent himself from the territory of Central America.

Article II. The supreme power shall be given over into the hands of the citizen who is named for this purpose by the Assembly.

Article III. While Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera is in the country he will be given the honors corresponding to the high position which he had held and he is guaranteed by the people full exercise of all his rights.

The same number of *El Guatemalteco*, the "official daily bulletin of the Republic of Guatemala," published the decree by which his successor in the presidential office was named, and runs as follows:

DECREE NUMBER 1023

The National Assembly of the Republic of Guatemala,

WHEREAS: On this date Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera has been separated from the exercise of the Executive Power,

AND WHEREAS, the person should be named who must succeed him in that high position,

THEREFORE, in conformity with that which is decreed in Article 52, paragraph VIII, of the Constitution,

IT IS DECREED:

That citizen Carlos Herrera is named Constitutional President of the Republic in substitution for Dr. Manuel Estrada Cabrera.

It may be added here that these decrees did not bring the desired result without the spilling of blood, although the people were hoping that the revolution might be bloodless. The dictator, from his forts on the hills above the city, bombarded the defenseless population, for six days, with interruptions, and many lives were lost. But the movement, inasmuch as it was of the people and by the people, did not waver and on April 14 an armistice was signed by the terms of which Estrada Cabrera became a prisoner and the new government came into power.

REVIVAL OF THE MOVEMENT TOWARD UNION

An interesting phase in the recent revolution in Guatemala is the attempt by the "Unionist Party," now in power, to revive interest in the federation of the Central American States under one flag and one government. As illustrating the sentiment of this party, which now represents the

people in its executive capacity, the Preamble to a decree which the National Legislative Assembly was asked to promulgate, will be of interest. Translated from the somewhat florid original into our colder and less tropical tongue, it reads as follows:

The historic moment is definite and should be taken advantage of. A century of shameful separation, internal revolts, calamities and mistakes, have not been sufficient to quench the flame of union among the Central Americans. Far otherwise, the people rise above the sorrowful reality to a higher ideal of Justice and Right, of aggrandizement and progress, does not bend under the weight of misfortune, refuses to accept the dictates of adversity, lifts up its countenance and demands union because it does not wish to be consumed by impotence.

It is necessary that the sorrowful spectacle of our political disintegration disappear, that we direct our gaze toward the greatest and highest ends of existence, and fulfilling the ideals bequeathed us by past generations, bring it about that Central America be reborn, free, sovereign, independent and worthy of taking its place by the side of the great nations of the earth.

The unity of the old Central American territory is a necessity that is felt by all and desired by all. The political clubs, whether they are Unionist or Liberal in affiliation, and the inhabitants of the country, with no distinction whatever, desire it and hope that the centenary of our independence be acclaimed in the five republics by the flag of 1821. By the fathers of the Independence, by those who fought for the noble idea of a united country, by the blood spilled to bring about this desire of all Central America, by our love to the races from which we have sprung, by our marvelous geographic position, and taking advantage of the national sentiment, now profoundly stirred and vibrant, we beg you to give life to this ideal of a Union and that you promulgate the following decree:

"The National Legislative Assembly of Guatemala proclaims the Union of Central America; protects and sustains all endeavor directed toward securing it in a peaceful manner.

"To that end, it convokes the other States in a Constituent Central American Assembly, to be formed by fifteen individuals from each State, elected by the people under conditions of the most ample liberty and independence of action, who shall meet in the City of Guatemala, on the first day of April, 1920, for the purpose of choosing the city which shall serve as the seat of their deliberations, decree the Political Constitution of the Republic of Central America, and designate its Capital and the seat of its legislative and executive power.

"Anyone who may declare himself as against this Union or who may oppose its work or embarrass it in any way whatever, shall be held to be a traitor to the ideals of the country and both

unworthy and incapable of holding any public office or employment.

"To you, the members of Congress, corresponds the glory of proclaiming that which for many years has been our fervent desire, the sentiment of our race, the highest of our ideals, and we hope that, not one or two, but all of you may favor this motion."

This decree was presented to the National Legislative Assembly on March 1, 1920, but has not, as yet, been acted upon. Inasmuch as this party is now in power, it will be interesting to see how far they will be able to carry out this very laudable project of a great federated Central American republic. It would be a great triumph for modern democracy, a long step forward in the progress of the nations, of the western hemisphere, could these five republics lay aside private and personal jealousies and ambitions and, interested only in making of Central America a place "safe for democracy," unite their interests and purposes through the formation of one strong state whose influence would weigh heavily in the Councils of the modern world.

That some of their own eminent statesmen are thinking of the formation of one or more strong Latin American nations, through the union or federation of some of the smaller and sometimes defenseless peoples, is evidenced by the recent words of a Mexican jurist.³ He said, in part:

The Latin American countries have developed without fixed purpose, essaying all kinds of government without finding any form that satisfies them. They have passed alternately from tyranny to something very near anarchy, before arriving at democracy. An immense self-love has made each one of these small nations believe themselves entitled to figure as a power of the first order. Each one of them believes that its artists, its scientists, its army and navy are not surpassed by any other nation. They have confounded love of country with love of power.

What is the future of these countries? Will it be possible for any of them to become truly great powers? While they live as they are living? No.

Already out of the tropic of Capricorn have issued two nationalities which, including Brazil, are those of greatest vitality, the greatest vigor and the greatest future—the Argentine Republic

³ The Future of the Latin American Republics, by R. de Zayas Enríquez, in *La Nueva Democracia*, quoted in *New York Times*, May 10, 1920.

and Chile. They are two rival countries today; the lofty wall of the Andes divides them, but the railroad, the viaduct and the tunnel overcome the obstacles raised by nature. Law will overcome the obstacle created by the character of both countries. Chile, essentially a mining country; Argentina, essentially agricultural, both with great industrial possibilities, are complete in themselves. Merged into a single nationality they could become great.

These expansions (resulting from the merging of these countries) appear rational, and it is almost certain that they will be realized, either by means of treaties formed through foresight or else by wars, imposed by necessity, unless the threatened nations, which would be absorbed in the expansion, Mexico included, should change their tactics.

Within a very few years there will be no reason for the small nations to exist; the present century will see them disappear completely, at all events in Europe and America, because they serve only as a hindrance to the progress of humanity.

If in Europe certain small powers have survived, it is due to the fact that the great nations have protected and maintained them, under the pretext of preserving Continental equilibrium.

The nation that sleeps, trusting in right, in agreements and altruism, will have a tragic awakening, finding itself chained to the chariot wheels of the conqueror.

History shows that countries, in order to be self-respecting must be strong and prudent, but above all strong. Thus it is that the Spanish American nations must succeed in making themselves strong at any cost and this they will not be able to do, except by means of democracy, which unites all the inhabitants in a common aspiration and a community of interests. To say, for example, "Mexico for the Mexicans," "Cuba for the Cubans," shows lack of practical sense. The modern doctrine is "The World for Humanity."

The above words, spoken by a Latin American, apply with special cogency to the small and now disunited nations of Central America, and might well be pondered by their statesmen.

ATTITUDE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CENTRAL AMERICA

The future happiness and prosperity of the peoples of Central America is very largely in the hands of the government of the United States. This is admittedly so, both because the United States is the strongest nation in the western hemisphere and because of the geographical situa-

tion. And it must be confessed that our diplomatic attitude in the past, as regards all Latin America, leads some of us to suspect that there may be misapprehension and misunderstanding in the future. We do not seem to have learned, as yet, that our duty is not limited to taking all we can out of Latin America, but that we have also an obligation to put something into it. Not entirely without reason have many Latin Americans labored under a misapprehension as to the real contents of the "Monr e Doctrine," and it would seem that the time has come when we should either admit that it is an "obsolete shibboleth," or, giving it the proper interpretation, make it a real "American Doctrine," to whose defense every Latin American nation, from giant Brazil to the comparatively pigmy Panam , would instantly rally.

On this point it may be well to quote and ponder the words of another Latin American statesman, uttered within the last few weeks, as showing how the chief magistrate of one of the most advanced nations to the south of us considers the formation of such a league. Dr. Brum, President of Uruguay, in an address before the university students in the capital of his country said, referring to this League which he had proposed:

Owing to the state in which European countries remain after the struggle, it may be said that fear of invasion by them in America has been removed for many years. But is that sufficient reason for us to take no interest in the future and turn away from the Monroe Doctrine with the pretext it is now unnecessary? I believe that today, more than ever, we should use foresight in searching for formulas that may assure forever the peace and full independence of American countries.

The principle of American solidarity, based on the constitution of a continental league, is more ample than the Monroe Doctrine, because it will not only defend the countries of America against foreign invaders but also against imperialistic tendencies which might arise among themselves.

The formation of this league, in my opinion, would be a logical consequence of the Treaty of Versailles, which, in recognizing and expressly accepting the Monroe Doctrine, seems to be desirous of limiting its field of action, so far as American affairs are concerned. On the other hand, the Supreme Council of the League of Nations is composed principally of the delegates of the Great Powers, nearly all the American countries having been excluded.

These countries need, therefore, to create a powerful organization to look after their interests in the decisions arrived at by the League of Nations. Harmonious and joint action by the "American League" would avoid European intervention in our affairs.

The policy of the United States in Latin America in the past has been largely opportunist when, on the contrary, it should have been well-defined, well-understood and energetically enforced. With not little reason have the statesmen of these countries considered our methods as vacillating and calculated to favor this or that party or individual which might be expected to do the most in return. A recent writer, referring to the overthrow of Estrada Cabrera in Guatemala has voiced this feeling. He said:

The whole Cabrera episode probably will go down in history as a rather unsavory interlude in our diplomacy in Latin America. Cabrera stood for everything which President Taft and President Wilson professed not to stand for; he represented iron force as much as the Kaiser; he laughed at the doctrine of self-determination; he exploited his country; it has been changed to his advantage; he believed in stark militarism. Yet President Taft's administration tolerated him and Mr. Wilson's gave him eager regard in return for his gesture in declaring war on Germany and his truckling to our policy in Mexico and Central America. His fall is a distinct feather in the cap of President Carranza of Mexico, whose inveterate foe he was.⁴

And another, speaking of the intervention of the United States in Nicaragua, and writing while still in that country and with the actual conditions fresh in his mind, says:

In spite of all the abuses of the Zelaya administration, which the United States threw out, much attention was paid by it to public instruction. But as soon as the Conservative Party, protected by the United States, was put into power, they began to bring into the country the Jesuits, Christian Brothers, Capuchinos and other religious orders, and to give them charge of the schools. At present practically the whole of public instruction is in the hands of the Church. They cannot understand why the United States government is working against itself, by protecting the Conservatives in office while they encourage the Church in every way and the Church, in turn, is giving itself to a constant campaign of prejudicing the people against Americans as heretics whom all good Catholics should oppose.⁵

⁴ The *New York Globe*, quoted in *The Literary Digest*, May 1, 1920.

⁵ Travel letter, S. G. Inman, from Managua, April 12, 1920.

The day has passed when the diplomacy of force can be advantageously applied south of the Rio Grande. It has sometimes given more immediate results than might otherwise have been secured, but it has never been moral or Christian, and consequently has failed in the end. No better policy could be adopted by the United States in its relations with the Latin American nations, and particularly with those of Central America, which are our near neighbors, and largely dependent on our good will, than the principle enunciated centuries ago by one of the world's greatest thinkers, "whosoever would become great among you, let him become your minister, and whosoever would be first among you shall be your servant."

A PROGRAM OF SERVICE

That a very large portion of the people of the United States are thinking of Central America in terms of service is evidenced by the recent celebration in Guatemala City of a Conference between representatives of the various boards which have mission work in Central America, and the setting up by them of a cooperative program, which when carried out, cannot fail to intensify friendly relations between these nations. In no sectarian spirit, but with altogether disinterested and altruistic intentions, it is proposed to aid the various governments through the extension of primary and secondary instruction; the establishing of a model Normal school, industrial schools, especially among the now neglected Indian population, and a training school for nurses, all of which will converge in a Union College to be located in Panamá and which will serve the intellectual interests not only of Central America but also of the nearby South American republics. Other institutions are also planned, as a union Press which will be able to aid in the supply of helpful literature; a hospital in each of the countries; help in combating the social evil; care of the insane; a thorough survey of the Indian population and a comprehensive program for work among these neglected people.

The work that is being done by the Carnegie Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute is also thoroughly appreciated by the people and is accepted as evidence of the desire on the part of the United States to aid in the solution of Central American problems. An editorial which recently appeared in the leading daily paper of one of the Central American capitals, an organ which reflected the opinion of the government, has admirably expressed the gratitude of the people of that and neighboring countries for benefits received from the institutions mentioned, and at the same time has enunciated an admirable philosophy of diplomacy. The writer said:

Rising above the suspicions which "Dollar Diplomacy" and the "Big Stick" have aroused in Latin America, the interest of the United States in Spanish America has been shown in other important ways and in each of these there are sufficient noble and altruistic ideals to erase jealousies and hatreds.

More important than political treaties, than solemn promises of friendship and love, than Congresses and Conferences, the great cultural endeavors of the United States have contributed to the drawing together of the Americas. That what we have stated is true is proved by the great work done in all parts of the continent by the Rockefeller Institute.

It is not necessary to refer to the discretion with which this work has been carried on. No one is ignorant of the positive benefit which this Institute has brought to the country. Its work has not been one-sided. In combating the hookworm, to do which it has penetrated to the remotest parts of the tropics, it has propagated the truth concerning public hygiene, everywhere. It has endeavored to teach cleanliness to the Indians, the necessity of the bath, of sanitation, and of eating only healthful foods. This Institute has gone from farm to farm, from house to house—and at the same time its offices in the cities and most important towns have lost no opportunity to examine the sick and to distribute medicines—and has interested a great circle of people in its work. The results could not be more satisfactory, as proved by the statistics published by the Institute.

If the fight against hookworm provokes our gratitude, of how much greater benefit to the tropical countries has been the crusade against yellow fever. The work of Gorgas and others has no precedent in history. In the saving of humanity from this plague no obstacle has been allowed to stand in the way. Money has been poured out in torrents. The sacrifices have been multiplied and the representatives of the Institute have gone from one extreme of the country to the other—today in Mexico, tomorrow in Guatemala and Salvador, and then on to Ecuador, and they are in all places at the same time.

The recompense of their sacrifices and struggles is to be found in their success, as in the discovery of the manner in which yellow fever may be prevented.

This is the spirit that will bind the two Americas together with bonds that cannot be severed—the spirit of service rendered by the strong to those who are weak. And in this spirit of neighborliness, in this attitude of mental and spiritual hospitality, there is to be found the true solution of our common economic problems, the root of all true diplomacy.